1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

The Native Culture in the Marquesas

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The following description of the native culture in the Marquesas Islands is based on original research during a nine months' residence, supplemented by knowledge derived from printed literary sources and unpublished manuscripts. As ethnologist of the Bayard Dominick Expedition to the Marquesas, sent by the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum of Honolulu, I arrived in the Marquesas September 21, 1920, remaining until June 21, 1921. The other members of the party were Ralph Linton, archæologist,, and Willowdean Chatterson Handy, volunteer associate.

Sincere appreciation for the opportunity to pursue this piece of research is here expressed to Mr. Bayard Dominick of New York, who financed the Expedition; to the Trustees of the Museum, under whose auspices the work was done; and to the Director, whose staunch support was unfailing. Cordial thanks are expressed to the other members of our party for their willing and productive coöperation in the work in the field. Especial thanks are due to Jane Lathrop Winne and the editorial staff of the Museum for their aid in the preparation of the manuscript in its last stages. The maps were made by Stanley C. Ball from charts issued by the U. S. Hydrographic Office; the drawings are by Willowdean Chatterson Handy.

To many others whose friendship and courtesy did much to make the work in the field successful, thanks are due. The party owes a particular debt of gratitude to the Administrator of the Marquesas, M. G. de Poyen-Belleisle, who, as the representative of France, extended to the American party every possible courtesy, including the free use of government buildings for residence and work, and whose personal friendship and courtesy did much to make our stay agreeable. Particular thanks are due to three members of the Catholic Mission (La Congrégation des Sacrês-Coeurs de Picpus) of the Marquesas, to Monseigneur David Lacadrê, le Père Simeon Delmas, and le Père Ignace whose interest and generosity opened to me information to be obtained from no other source, contained in manuscripts written by the Catholic fathers and now in possession of the Mission. To M. Paul Vernier, head of the Protestant Mission, and to Mr. Frank Varney of Atu Ona, we owe a debt of gratitude for their hospitality and for the aid that they gave to the work through introductions and personal interest. Special thanks are due also to M. Guillitou of Atu Ono, Mr. Henry Lee of Pua Ma'u, Mrs. G. M. Fisher of Taio Hae,

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Music In The Marquesas Islands

By E. S. Craighill Handy and Jane Lathrop Winne

INTRODUCTION

The native music of the peoples of the different island groups in Polynesia offers a field for research of great interest and value both intrinsically and historically, which has up to this time been practically wholly neglected, a field perhaps richer than any other branch of ethnographic research that American or European students will be able to find in this region of the Pacific where so much of the native culture has been lost under the foreign overlay. This whole rich field lies open to anyone who cares to cultivate it, for it is still possible to hear the singing of genuinely native songs and chants in every part of the region. But no one should enter upon this work without a full realization of its requirements. The research, if it is thoroughly performed, demands not only training and experience but also the ability to learn and use various of the native dialects, infinite patience, and the capacity for enduring considerable physical and mental hardships.

Information concerning the native system of music in the Marquesas was acquired during my stay in those islands as a member of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of the Bishop Museum in 1920-1921. At that time a number of native songs and chants were recorded and a study made of the significance of the songs and the manner of presentation.[1] On returning to Honolulu the musical aspects of Marquesas chants and of Polynesian poetry in general were discussed with Miss Jane Winne, instructor of music in Punahou School, who has given much attention to Hawaiian singing. During 1923 Miss Winne served as volunteer assistant with the Museum field party engaged in an ethnologic survey of the Society Islands.

In the preparation of this paper I have had the skilled assistance of Miss Winne, particularly in providing a method of transcription and in the preparation of the melodic figures.

This brief and fragmentary study of chants is to be taken as merely sug-

[1] Handy, E. S. Craighill, The native culture in the Marquesas: B. P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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114 a trained musician, and therefore no students except those who themselves have had the good fortune to become personally familiar with native music have up to this time had any acquaintanceship with it, for there have been no studies made that are of much value. This explains in part the oversight of students of the native culture. Another factor that has contributed is the fact that, although music is continually mentioned by travellers from the earliest time up to the present, it has never been given serious attention as a definite element in the native life. When most students read of singing in connection with festivals or rites, they accept it as a feature of the occasion and promptly forget it or dismiss it as an unimportant—though perhaps pleasant—accessory, much as we accept music at a dinner, a ball, or in church, as the usual thing and hence nothing to be particularly remarked.

X 533 535 All the world knows that the Polynesians were dancers; and yet music, both vocal and instrumental, had a far more prominent and serious place in every phase of the native life than did dancing. There were only certain occasions when dancing was in order, and at these times music of one kind or another always furnished the accompaniment. But there were innumerable other occasions associated with practically every activity in life—with worship, work, and war; with grief and joy; with love-making and play; with nursing a beloved child and exulting over prowess or revenge—when melody and rhythm furnished the magic skein that was woven into the evanescent webs of chant and song in which were bound, as the snared fly is enfolded by the spider, the sentiments and longings, and even the profoundest religious ideas of this race of spontaneous artists.

X 533 171 This is neither the time nor the place to attempt to make a comparative study of the music of the different islands; but it may not be out of place to mention certain inferences based on personal experience and to cite a few instances in which early visitors to islands in widely separated parts of Polynesia have mentioned singing in a way that indicates that there was group singing in all of the islands comparable to that about to be described in the Marquesas; in other words that, although perhaps formal chanting was more generally employed in the Marquesas than elsewhere, these islands were by no means exceptional in this way.

It is sometimes maintained that the ancient Hawaiians apparently had not developed group singing comparable to that of their cousins in the southern islands. If there was group singing it is certainly singular that early visitors fail to mention being entertained by choral songs, or hearing chants in connection with the religious rites. But it would be even more singular if the ancestors of a people, who today almost without exception exhibit a natural instinct for harmony and rhythm greater than that of

3: Handy E-5 (1920-1921) 1930 OX6 Marquesas OX6

Marquesan Legends

By E. S. Craighill Handy

INTRODUCTION

The legends included in this collection were, with a few minor exceptions, collected in the Marquesas Islands in 1920 and 1921, in the course of the investigations of the Bayard Dominick Expedition of Bernice P. Bishop Museum. 114

The collecting of the bulk of the contents of this compilation gave many hours of interest and pleasure as I recorded the legends given in text sitting on the verandah of the house that was our base of operations at Atuona, while my learned friend and co-worker, Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuani, recited legends of the ancients with the peculiar vigor and enthusiasm typical of older Marquesans whenever they roll under their tongues the sacred lore of their ancestors which will soon be wholly forgotten. Even now, no living Marquesan has more than a fragmentary knowledge of their lore. When asked how it came about that Haapuani was so much better versed in Marquesan lore than any other whom I had met in the islands, his friends described to me how, when he was a boy, he used to be seen sitting in the midst of a group of older men gathered to talk of the exploits of heroes such as Kae and Tana-oa, taking in with eager ears and quick mind words which, treasured in his memory, were one day to enable him, with the aid of an interested friend from the big island named America, to preserve from oblivion at least a part of the wealth of lore with which the minds of all educated Marquesans were stored in the old times. Haapuani himself told me that he had acquired some of his knowledge when he was a school boy at Puamau, Hivaoa; but that later much had come to him from his wife's father who was a very learned man. 115

I was very fortunate in coming early into association with this native scholar—probably the most learned man in all the islands at the time—in the valley now called Atuona, on Hivaoa, where he was born and where his ancestors and those of his wife have lived from time immemorial. The ancient name of this region was Vevau; and Vevau [1] was recognized, by Marquesans throughout the islands, as the great center of lore in the *fenua enata*. Hence I was doubly fortunate in being led by circumstance to the man and the place best suited to give me the authentic lore I sought.

[1] See Handy, E. S. C., The Native Culture in the Marquesas: Bernice P. Bishop Mus., Bull. 9, 1923.

[p. 3]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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CHAPTER XII.

Washington Islands.—Rooahooga.

On the meridian of the 23rd October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S. W. Our latitude at this time was 9° 6′ south, and the longitude, by chronometer 138° 27′ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Lord Hood, while a midshipman with Captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this Island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. On my prizes joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Rooahooga, one of the group discovered by Captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a Captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a Captain Marchand, in the French ship Solide, bound on a trading voyage to the N. W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and Lieutenant Hergest, probably

[pp. 1-74 not processed.]

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by Captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, Sir Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship Dædalus. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet Captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American Captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains Lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleurien, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Rooahooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *toya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otaheitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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RALPH LINTON SERVED AS ETHNOLOGIST WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921, DEVOTING HIS ATTENTION TO MATERIAL CULTURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY. SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE FIELD WORK A STUDY WAS MADE OF THE MARQUESAN COLLECTION IN MUSEUMS OF THE UNITED STATES.

[p. 2]

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921) 1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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WILLOWDEAN CHATTERSON HANDY SERVED AS VOLUNTEER ASSOCIATE WITH THE MARQUESAS PARTY OF THE BAYARD DOMINICK EXPEDITION, 1920-1921. SHE HAS TAKEN SKILLFUL ADVANTAGE OF HER OPPORTUNITY TO OBTAIN WHAT IS BELIEVED TO BE AN UNUSUALLY COMPLETE AND INTIMATE RECORD OF TATTOOING DESIGNS.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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MARQUESAN SOMATOLOGY WITH COMPARATIVE NOTES ON SAMOA AND TONGA

By LOUIS R. SULLIVAN
Based on the Field Studies of E. S. Craighill Handy and Willowdean C. Handy

INTRODUCTION

Acknowledgments

THE field studies which form the basis of this paper were made by E. S. Craighill Handy in conjunction with his ethnological survey of the Marquesas. In the field Mr. Handy was ably assisted by his wife, Willowdean C. Handy. Ralph Linton assisted in the photography. By arrangement between the American Museum of Natural History and the Bernice P. Bishop Museum the field notes were turned over to me for analysis and interpretation. The mathematical computations were prepared by Mrs. Lois Treadwell Ruml and my wife, Bessie P. Sullivan, who also prepared the appendix and assisted throughout the preparation of the manuscript.

The somatological studies in the Marquesas followed the plan of those already completed for Samoa[1] and Tonga.[2] In addition to the somatological records Mr. Handy supplied me with full and valuable notes on the history of the population, opportunities for intermixture with whites and Asiatics, and customs of deformation of parts of the body. I am likewise indebted to him for valuable suggestions as to possible inter-island differences in culture and physical type which made my analysis much easier. The comparative data from Samoa and Tonga were furnished by the field studies of E. W. Gifford and W. C. McKern, acknowledged in previous papers.

The Population

The material submitted for study consisted of the records of 201 persons. When the admitted mixed-bloods, senile and adolescent individuals were eliminated there remained two series consisting of 84 adult men and 74 adult women. Three persons with a small amount of Hawaiian blood were included in the analysis. By nativity the individuals examined were distributed as follows: Nuku Hiva 18, Ua Huku 18, Ua Pou 47, Hiva Oa 61, Tahu Ata 2, and Fatu Hiva 12. The material was not selected and represents persons of all social classes and occupations. It may be regarded as a fair qualitative sample of the Marquesan people of today. Incidentally the 201 persons represent about 11 per cent of the total population.

[1] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Samoan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 2, 1921.

[2] Sullivan, Louis R., A contribution to Tongan somatology: B. P. Bishop Mus. Mem. vol. VIII, No. 4, 1922.

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARQUESANS

While we have many verbal descriptions of the Marquesans by travelers and writers, anthropometric data are extremely rare and confined almost wholly to the cranium. Information on stature was furnished by several of the early explorers of this region, but the conclusions are not always in accord. Deniker gives the average stature of 202 men as 174.3 centimeters. The cranial length-breadth index is given by the same author as 76.4 for thirty crania. Broca's figures for the same index are 75.0 for men and 78.2 for women.

Some of the larger of our craniometric publications have described Marquesan crania. Davis described 29 of them, the German catalog 5, the Godeffroy catalog 4, Welcker 16, and Le Batard 24. Le Batard gave also the principal head measurements of 2 persons. Von Luschan also described some Marquesan skeletal material. It is apparent that the present contribution of detailed observations on 84 men and 74 women can in no sense be considered a duplication of work already done.

The results of the seriation and averages are summarized in Tables II, III, and IV. Table II is given as a gauge of the homogeneity of the series. While a series of less than 100 does not lend itself to strict statistical analysis it should show some tendency to form a normal frequency distribution for a majority of characters, if we are dealing with a homogeneous group. But such is not the case. The bimodality encountered in the Tongan series in head length, face width, bigonial diameter, face height, and face index are here repeated in a much more marked form. The bimodality, multimodality or skew distribution extends to nearly every character. In the Marquesan series stature, span, minimum frontal diameter, nasal width, ear width, cephalic, facial and nasal indices show a bimodal tendency in both sexes. The other characters are bimodal in one sex and irregular, or multimodal in the other. Only one or two characters are unimodal and regular normal curves. This feature of the series is discussed on page 163.

The Marquesans are tall, with long, wide head, a high, wide face, and a high, wide nose. All of the dimensions of the head and body are large, indicating their massive size. They are on the verge of brachycephaly. But one cannot be sure that the heads are wholly undeformed. Handy says that artificial molding of the head seems to have been universally practiced in the following way: mothers would run the hand up and back across the infant's head, pressing down with the palm and in with the fingers in a way that would tend to make the forehead more sloping, the frontal region narrower, and the back of the head somewhat elevated

12: Sullivan D-4 (no date) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

GENERAL COMPARISON OF MARQUESANS WITH SAMOANS AND TONGANS.

X 142 114 The Bayard Dominick Expedition has furnished the comparative data from Samoa and Tonga. For New Zealand a unique and important contribution to somatology is that of Te Rangi Hiroa, a Maori, who has recently begun to publish in serial form a careful and thoroughly scientific study of his race. The first number,[1] dealing with skin color, hair form and color, eye color, weight, and stature has already appeared. Judging from this there is every reason to expect that the completed work will form one of the most important contributions to somatology.

Although skin color is of great interest the observations upon this character were most unsatisfactory. All of the observers complained that Fritsch's standard was not adapted to the study of the Polynesians. From my own experience with it I can sympathize with them. Furthermore the Fritsch standard is not expressed in numbers and I gave to the standards arbitrary numbers of my own. As the Fritsch chart is little known and to give the results in terms of it would be useless, it became necessary to translate these results into the terms of von Luschan's scale. I did this as best I could, but found it necessary to use two numbers in many instances. In order that there might be no personal peculiarities in the results I later asked four of the men engaged in these studies to match Fritsch's scale with von Luschan's scale. Here again great differences of judgment were shown by observers in the field. In view of this it seems best to state the results of skin color as a mere approximation. Two numbers were most frequently used—numbers 10 and 18 for unexposed skin color. Translated into terms of von Luschan's scale 10 was variously given as 6, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15. Number 18 is much darker and approaches 17, 18, or 22, 23, 24 of von Luschan's scale. For Tonga and Samoa Gifford and McKern most often reported 10 as the skin color for men. Handy gives 10 and 18 in about equal proportions. This would indicate that the Marquesans were considerably darker than the Samoans and Tongans. For exposed skin, however, no such differences occur. The Tongans, Samoans, and Marquesans are very similar. Buck's studies on the Maoris seem to indicate that they are also somewhat darker than the Samoans and the Tongans.

X 142 144 From Table V it will be noted that the Marquesans have more wavy hair than either the Samoans or the Tongans. Some of the difference may be accounted for by differences in standards of observation. This is true particularly of the curly hair of the Marquesans. (See p. 144.) But it seems fairly

[1] Hiroa, Te Rangi (P. H. Buck), Maori somatology: Journ. Polynesian Soc., vol. XXXI, No. 2, 1922.

13: Suggs--1 E-5 (1956-1958) 1963 OX6 Marquesas OX6

/1/ Marquesan Sexual Behavior

The primary purpose of this paper is to present an objective report of Marquesan sexual behavior as obtained during the years 1956, 1957 and 1958 on the island of Nuku Hiva in the northern group of the Marquesas. These data will be compared with ethnographic and historical documentary evidence concerning sexual behavior, whenever possible. Further, comparisons will be made with earlier reports of the sexual behavior of the Marquesans and other Polynesian groups, as the data permits. Finally, conclusions will be presented concerning a number of aspects of Marquesan sexual behavior that have aroused some interest in previous reports.

The data upon which this report is based were collected while the author was carrying on archeological fieldwork in the Marquesas Islands, under the sponsorship of the American Museum of Natural History of New York. During these years, a total of 12 months were spent in the Marquesas archipelago, mainly on the island of Nuku Hiva. All other islands in the archipelago except Ua Huka were visited, however.

As familiarity with the native culture increased, a number of problems developed in which the evidence of archaeology and observable native customs of the present failed to coincide with certain of the previously published accounts of Marquesan aboriginal culture. Many of these /2/ problems have been dealt with in my report of the archeological excavations on Nuku Hiva (Suggs, R.C. 1961. The Archaeology of Nuku Hiva, Marquesas Islands, French Polynesia. Amer. Mus. Anthro. Papers Vol. 49 Pt. 1.). They involve such topics as the derivation and age of the Marquesan occupation, population density in prehistoric times, native political organization, economic structure, etc.

An important area in which a discrepancy between reports and observed behavior appeared was that of sexual behavior. The presentation of Marquesan sexual behavior in Kardiner and Linton (Kardiner, A. (Ed.) The Individual and His Society. New York, 1939.), quite familiar to all students of culture and

/5 cont./
the workmen were not at all suspicious of the note pad in this context, for all writing was ostensibly for the recording of archeological data. There was a generally relaxed and easy atmosphere among the men; and much less boasting of sexual prowess was noted at such times, for the group usually handled extravagant claims in a rather unkind fashion. Naturally, the presence of certain individuals precluded discussion of their respective female relatives for all practical purposes, but the shifting composition of the work crew made it possible to fill in gaps in the data resulting from such propriety.

The information obtained by these methods was cross-checked whenever possible by use of additional informants, replication of the interview or, in the cases where the source of data was overhead in conversations, simply by leading the conversation back toward the same topic. My wife, working almost exclusively with women, obtained information that complimented the data I had obtained with their husbands, thus providing additional cross-checks on informant reliability.

In summary, the attitudes of the native culture and the fact that my main interest was in an area completely divorced from sexual behavior necessitated a reliance upon observation and monitoring of conversation for most of the data presented here on the more intimate aspects of sexual behavior. Direct questioning was possible only on topics such /6/ as childbirth techniques, menstruation, concepts of procreation, ethno-medicine related to sexual activity and behavior of younger children.

Population

The most recent census data on the Marquesan population is given on p. 63 . As these data were collected in 1956, allowance must be made for some slight growth during the 4 years which have elapsed since then.

The breakdown of the population in the table is derived from official records in the archives of the Circonscription des Iles Maruises at Taiohae, Nuku Hiva. Despite the apparent

/6 cont./

detail, some caution must be exercised in using these data to determine the amount of miscegenation which has occurred. These figures for individuals of mixed ancestry only represent those which are readily apparent or are first generation descendants of marriages between Polynesians and non-Polynesians. Furthermore, these figures represent only the results of legitimate or at least widely-known unions.

Unfortunately, a breakdown of these figures as to the proportions of the sexes is not available, but information on this point was obtained from the previous (1951) census which showed that population was composed of 50.4% males and 49.6% females. The porportions of children to adults in 1951 was: adults, 39%; children, 61%.

/7/

The Life Cycle

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The state of pregnancy (vehine kopu tama) is diagnosed by the obvious physiological changes: cessation of menstruation, changes in breast size, and swelling of the stomach. The role of semen in impregnation is quite well understood. After coitus, women who are attempting to become pregnant will lie on their backs, drawing up their knees to facilitate the flow of the semen (teatea) into the uterine opening. The role of the female in procreation is naturally not so clear. It was stated by one informant that the semen combined with vaginal fluids to produce a child.

Much folklore surrounds the relationship of menstruating (mate meama) to chances of impregnation. It is widely believed that the best part of the menstrual cycle of achieving conception is that period immediately following the cessation of the menstrual flow, while the period for avoiding conception is described as the days midway between menstrual flows. This erroneous division of the menstrual cycle into "safe" and "unsafe" periods was often attributed to information obtained from a fundamentalist Protestant missionary couple who resided

/86 cont./

sex ratios. No information of this type was given with the 1951 or 1956 censuses. Data of the 1932 census was available, however, for comparisons with that of the nineteenth century. In 1934 there were some 5 births per 100 population, while only 2.7 deaths occurred per 100. In 1942 a slight drop had occurred, but the figures were still close: 4.6 births per 100; 2.9 deaths per 100.

Aside from the fact that the Marquesan population is definitely expanding quite dramatically again, there are a number of facts which /87/ stand out in comparing the above data with that of the present day. Since 1883, the birth rate has reversed itself in relation to the death rate, while the overwhelmingly adult character of the nineteenth century population has given way to one equally as overwhelming in its youthfulness. (It should be noted, however, that much of the increase is due to a disproportionate growth of the population of Ua Pou. On that island the local missionary constantly admonishes his flock of their procreative duties under church law, with the result that the population of Ua Pou now slightly outnumbers that of Nuku Hiva, although Nuku Hiva is some 3 times as large in surface area. This increase in population is somewhat surprising when one considers that the Ua Pou population was only 55% as large as that of Nuku Hiva in 1931, but by 1936 had risen to 73% of Nuku Hiva's population, and by 1946 had attained 91% of the population of Nuku Hiva.

Further, the demographical data presented above conflict strongly with undocumented statements made by Linton (1939) on Marquesan population. His view that tribes rarely exceeded 1,000 people in size (p. 150) does not stand in the light of a large body of archeological data, demonstrating the existence of populations considerably in excess of that figure for most of the main valleys of Nuku Hiva as well as the other islands in the archipelago.

Linton's claim that there were 200 deaths for every

/87 cont./ 114 165
birth on the island of Ta huata (p. 138) receives no support whatsoever from the /88/ census data available to me. A death to birth ratio of such a dramatic nature has never been recorded for any island or valley in the archipelago since the epidemics of 1867.

There is, furthermore, no evidence of the remarkable 114
disparity in the sex ratio (2.5 males: 1 female) (p. 155) which 162
Linton reports. Throughout the entire period covered by records, the sex ratio remained relatively stable with a very slight edge being held by males over females.

Childbirth

Comparison of ethnographic accounts of childbirth 844
(Handy 1923, pp. 71-80) with the modern data indicate the 182
survival of a sizable amount of native customs surrounding this event. Pre and post-partum food tapus, seclusion of the female, delivery positions, the disposition of the afterbirth, and the recently extinct post-partum intercourse are all reported for the ethnographic period. The fa'e taina or birth [343]
house, used in the 1920's for predelivery seclusion, is no longer in use.

The belief in hanaua (fanaua - Hiva 'Oa dialect) -- evil [776]
spirits who attacked women causing them to die in childbirth [753]
or to be afflicted with symptoms similar to pregnancy and ultimately to die (Handy 1923, p. 254) -- is no longer found. Tokai, shrines to women who have died in childbirth and [778]
whose spirits might therefore become hanaua (Delmas 1927, p. 92) are no longer maintained or built. Gods of abortion [776]
and miscarriage -- Hanaua, Upeouoho, Pahuatuhee, Taua [847]
Te kahiaki, and Moiaika -- once played an extremely important role in the aboriginal /89/ religion, assuming the position of tribal or subtribal patron deities in some cases. Few modern Marquesans know of the existence of these deities at present, and those who do are no longer overly concerned with the possible malevolent influences that these supernatural beings could yield.

/89 cont./

A report of Linton (1938, p. 164) that nursing of children was not practiced by the Marquesans receives no support from the present data, other ethnographic reports or historical sources. Linton claimed that the natives believed that nursing made the child hard to manage and not submissive to its parents; as well as having a deleterious effect on the appearance of the breasts of the mother, which he believed to be of considerable importance to the Marquesan woman: "They believe that prolonged nursing spoiled the breasts and consequently were reluctant to do it (1938, p. 165)." 114 853

Breast feeding of infants in the Marquesas is attested by the earliest historical records. Thus Marchand in 1792 stated that one of his staff, Captain Chanal, saw mothers suckling their children. Langsdorf in 1807 observed that children were not weaned until they could "go alone," and many were not weaned until they could speak. Some, however, were occasionally fed with additional semi-solid food, generally popoi (fermented and fresh breadfruit paste, mixed). Although Langsdorf's commander, Krusenstern, claimed that children were not nursed, drawings made by the /90/ expedition artist show infants nursing quite plainly, reinforcing Langsdorf's observations. Radiguet, in 1840, stated that although the child would be accustomed to popoi a little after birth, he would not be weaned until "the last extremity, that is to say, when the milk dries up." 175 853 [862] [262] [862]

Handy, evidently referring to the informant who was the source of Linton's statement says that the informant must have been speaking of the thin gruel of pounded shrimps and poi used in lieu of mother's milk to purge infants after birth and was certainly not referring to a permanent practice of not nursing infants (Handy 1923, p. 75). Von den Steinen (1928, p. 35) describes stone pounders used to prepare the gruel used as food during the first three days of the child's life, after which nursing was presumably begun as the main source of nourishment. [114] [262] [844] [412] [252]

/90 cont./

These data, when taken with the modern evidence for nursing, late weaning and the complex of ethnomedical remedies surrounding nursing, indicate that modern Marquesan nursing is an aboriginal survival, rather than a recent European introduction, as one would have to conclude from Linton's statements. 853 182 [114]

The extensive rites surrounding the birth of the first male heir in the past are no longer seen, nor is adoption surrounded by the ceremonialism which distinguished it in the past. 182 844 597 788

Infancy and Childhood

There are no references, either in the historical documents or in ethnographic reports, to the use of the vaginal astringents so common /91/ on Nuku Hiva at present. There are, however, several references in an unpublished Ms on the native flora by Fr. Simeon Delmas, in the library of the Taiohae mission, that indicate a considerable complex of general astringents, including some of those mentioned above in the ethnomedical repertoire of the Marquesans. Several of the astringents could be used percutaneously; the use of others is not identified, but no mention is made in the missionary's notes of any internal use. Nevertheless, the degree of elaboration of this trait complex and the fact that all of the astringents are native plants (many of which are becoming extinct), coupled with the commonness of the practice and the secrecy that surrounds it, lead to the conclusion that it is in truth aboriginal. It is, of course, inextricably connected with the Marquesan emphasis on vaginal qualities as being the prime criteria for judging the sexual value of a woman. 175 957 856 [137] [832]

This focus of attention on the genitalia as being of prime importance in a woman's sexual role runs counter to Linton's statements concerning the emphasis on breast development which he believed he saw manifested by the Marquesans (1938, p. 195). It is granted that in assessing general over-all female beauty, importance is attached to a 114 826 832

/91 cont./ sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; nevertheless, breasts are of relatively small importance when compared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. Marquesan legends (Handy 1928), make frequent reference to the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individuals. Numerous references are also available to native cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S. Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished considerably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics. Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of 'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together; the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy, pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/93 cont./

observances (Handy, ibid) reported in the ethnographic sources are no longer observed, not even in part. Elder informants, speaking of the past, stated that boys were often assigned to women who would supervise the healing of the incision and indulge in a ritual intercourse upon the removal of the scabs. There is no ethnographic or historic data to substantiate or contradict these statements; however, due to the fact that they were obtained from a usually reliable informant, I deem them to be acceptable, at least tentatively.

Likewise, no comparative data exists for the practice of preserving the bamboo slivers used for stretching the foreskin in the circumcision operation as a charm against impotence, although Handy reports that the slivers were preserved without stating a reason for the preservation. It was only possible to obtain information on this practice in one valley; therefore, the behavior may actually be a local development. It is doubtful if very profound regional differences in such matters can exist in an island population of about 980 people in which a reasonable amount of traffic between valleys takes place.

There is little evidence concerning the age at which male children began to have heterosexual experiences in the aboriginal period. Linton (p. 168) states that both sexes began heterosexual intercourse before /94/ puberty. As will be noted later, this was apparently true for the females, but it may not have been so for males. The stigma attached to lack of circumcision is strong today, and as Handy indicates (p. 95), it was quite strong in the past if not stronger. It is therefore doubtful if boys would be able to enter into heterosexual intercourse before circumcision. It appears, then, that circumcision may have been the gateway to heterosexual relations in the past as it is now, and the disparate ages at which the sexes begin such activity may not be a result of culture contact, but a reflection of the situation.

The vaginal cosmetics used by adolescent girls again bear witness to the heavy emphasis placed on genital qualities in evaluating the sexual potential of a woman. The use of cosmetics can be considered as part of the complex of practices beginning in early infancy, designed to

/95 cont./

In the accounts of the informants, no information was given concerning the relative chronological order of this ceremony and menarche in the pubescent girls, nor was any mention made by the informants of /96/ the menarche ceremony described by Handy (1923, p. 94). It seems unlikely, therefore, that if had any direct or close relationship to puberty. The ceremony, as it is described, however, resembles Handy's descriptions of the tattooing festivals (ibid 221-222). Although these festivals were generally given in honor of males, girls participated in them, especially in the final festival in the sequence of three, normally following a tattooing. This was called ko'ika to'e haka -- clitoris dance festival -- and featured young girls dancing with their wrap-around skirts raised to expose their genitals.

A similar genital inspection or exhibition was held for young males after their circumcision had healed (Handy 1923).

Therefore, it seems probable that the ceremony report by my informants actually existed in the aboriginal past, and that the vaginal cosmetics used today are the only survivals of the extensive complex of traits involved in these puberty ceremonies. There is a possibility that the details recounted here may have been a local elaboration in the area of Nuku Hiva occupied by the Taipi tribe, but as Handy's information is mainly derived from Hiva'Oa, it is more likely that the same general ceremonies took place throughout the archipelago.

The position of the grandparent as a general mentor and especially an instructor of sexual techniques is reported by Linton for the aboriginal period, although Handy does not mention it.

Older informants claim that in the past, individuals of the grandparents' generation stood in a privileged type of rationship to grandchildren, /97/ in which much free banter was permitted, including conduct and speech that would have been judged disrespectful if it occurred between individuals having parent-child relationships. In the context of this privileged

/99 cont./ 175 698 864
heterosexual relations in childhood in the aboriginal period appears to require some qualification, in view of the context in which such sexual relations were observed and reported. There is more than a hint that the visits of European ships were of sufficient importance to cause certain norms to be temporarily abrogated. For this reason, it may be that the extreme youth of some participants in the historic period orgies may not be representative of the usual practice; however, the chances are high that if intercourse for girls did /100/ not begin before the age of ten, it began not too long after. The degree of sophistication in sexual technique displayed by the young girls seen by the European explorers may not have been so much a function of experience as of instruction received from their grandparents. [603]

There is no information about age of first intercourse for males in the aboriginal period, beside Linton's statement that all children began intercourse before puberty, which is evidently true for females. As noted above, however, there is today a strong emotional sanction against males having heterosexual relations before circumcision, which appears to derive from the culture's values of cleanliness and general hygiene. This sanction, I believe, existed in the past with as much or more potency than it exists today; therefore, it is highly improbable that much heterosexual activity began before circumcision for males. However, there is definite evidence to show that the age of circumcision in the aboriginal period was considerably younger than in current practice -- between 7 and 12 years of age. Therefore, it appears that most male children began intercourse somewhat earlier than at present, when circumcision occurs between 10 and 14. 833 881 178 834 [183]

A great deal has been written about the existence of adolescent's groups which arose informally in early childhood, and subsequently became the ka'ioi youth groups. There appears to be a major difference of opinion among early ethnographers on the nature and function of the ka'ioi group. Handy (1923, pp. 39-42) and Linton (1938, pp. 168-9) both speak of the ka'ioi as a group consisting of members of both sexes who /101/ spent several years wandering away from 114 883 571

/101 cont./

parental supervision, performing mainly entertainment and recreational functions such as providing musicians and dancers for ceremonies, building tattooing houses, etc. On the other hand, von den Steinen (1928) regarded the ka'ioi as a strictly male group; consisting of a more or less informal cluster of youths around a chief's son. These passed through the tattooing ceremonies together, and while still incompletely tattooed operated as a group of junior warriors with the special duty of obtaining human offerings. As young males, they were also called upon to participate in ceremonies, singing and dancing, and naturally participated to the fullest in the culture, including the aspects of sexual life that were open to them. There is no mention made in von den Steinen's volume of a lack of parental supervision over the ka'ioi. Rather, one gains the impression that they had a considerable amount of responsibility and duties thrust upon them at this time. Nuku Hivan informants were insistent upon the ka'ioi groups as having consisted solely of males. The cognate girls' group was called upokoehu on Nuku Hiva. Both groups maintained houses which were used as dormitories, called ha'e ka'ioi and ha'e upokoehu, respectively. The platforms of a pair of these structures was pointed out to me in Hatiheu valley, Nuku Hiva, and the site of another dismantled ha'e ka'ioi house platform was seen in Taipivai. According to informants, such houses were still used in the early 1900's, with adolescents spending a good part of their free time and their evenings in the dormitories. During the daytime, a girl might be waylaid and carried to the boys' dormitory for serial intercourse, but the boys did not visit the girls' dormitory until nightfall. Not all girls /102/ visited the girls' dormitory; apparently, only a very few resided there permanently.

Handy (1923) reports that no dormitories of this type were maintained in the southern Marquesan islands, but notes that such were mentioned in legends and speculates that they might have existed in the northern archipelago as is borne out here. In view of the fact that the ethnographic data contains a considerable amount of information on general and special

/102 cont./ 182 74 883 571
skills, both profane and religious, which had to be learned at one time or another during youth, it is difficult to believe that a large segment of the young population could be allowed to spend a period of several years in non-productive, unsupervised pursuit of pleasure. I believe that Linton and Handy, in discussing the ka'ioi, were describing a culture contact phenomenon arising in the disintegration of the society; due partially to the complete lack of direction and goals in the society, as well as to the presence of Europeans who continanced and encouraged in youths the kind of loose behavior described for the ka'ioi groups. With the main function of the ka'ioi (as warriors) removed, and mission efforts being devoted to stamping out the practice of tattooing (one of the bonds which held the group together), it is little wonder that the ka'ioi presented a group of aimless pleasure-seekers to the ethnologists of the early 1900's. [114] [648] [797] [304]

There are no data on the patterns of public courtship followed in the aboriginal period, but it appears that the present coyness and restraint exhibited in the presence of others was probably also an aboriginal trait, as it occurs in other areas of Polynesia (as will be discussed below), and /103/ is therefore not an atypical phenomenon for Polynesia. 584 834 182 [171]

The adolescent pattern of sexual relationships presents some interesting evidence of the effects of culture change. In the aboriginal period, adolescent sexual relations occurred in much the same contexts as they do at present, with two major exceptions: public intercourse, sanctioned on some occasions in the past, is no longer practiced, and the formalized girls and boys dormitories no longer exist. Otherwise, trysts and chance meetings are the scene for much sexual activity as in former times. 883 178 [833] [342]

Perhaps the most interesting changes are those which produced the dichotomization of the adolescent and adult female population into "normal" and "promiscuous" groups. In conjunction with this division, there is a trend among younger males to regard some of the behavior traits characteristic of the promiscuous girls and adults of the population -- fellatio-cunnilinctus, the use of varying positions of sexual 571 831 178

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/106 cont./ 462
tasks subsumed under the modern categories of "men's work" and "women's work" were distributed in a radically different way in the aboriginal period. Preparation of foods, gardening, care of children, manufacture of tapa cloth, cosmetics, ornaments, baskets, etc., were all in the hands of women, who could also hold rather high ceremonial posts (see Handy, 1923).

At present, the most elderly women, who grew up before or around the turn of the century, are generally acknowledged to possess the occupational skills once characteristic of Marquesan women during the aboriginal period. Such skills (basketry, mat-making, medicinal arts, etc.) represent only a small portion of tasks that were once considered women's work, and no longer exist as a result of the breakdown of the culture. Actually, the modern Marquesan woman performs considerably fewer economic functions of importance than did her aboriginal counterpart, as the introduction of partial cash economy has made it possible for her to buy the things which she may ordinarily have made herself. Furthermore, the ability to purchase items formerly produced at home has become a sign of prestige, so that there is no longer any motivation to learn the formerly important crafts and skills of woman's work which are gradually being forgotten. /107/ [388] 462 182 178 [443] [554]

Like the statements about the relative power of women vis a vis men in Marquesan society, Linton's claims of female dominance in the sex act are not borne out by evidence from other sources. 114 833 562

One is confronted with considerable difficulty in attempting to reconcile modern behavioral data, the historic reports and other ethnographic records with claims of female dominance in sexual relations. Linton states that Marquesan females were incapable of normal orgasm without extensive foreplay stimulation, deriving this from a supposed practice of prolonged inorgasmic sexual play in childhood rendering rapid orgasms impossible.

However, at present, Marquesan women and girls experience relatively little difficulty in having rapid orgasms without foreplay of any type. Certainly, there is little

/107 cont./ 114 ●
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture 562
contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the 833
basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. [177]
Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of
inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is
there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the [864]
contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among
children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate
in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physio-
logically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the
short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial inter-
course episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40
males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of fe-
male dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal
period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833
may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas
was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching
and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was
elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching
(nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115]
reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a
technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836]
intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's
promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl
to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to
be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to
mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837]
would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many inform-
ants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a
married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554]
sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however;
furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to
great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this
fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their
wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182
in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838

/111 cont./

fell to the lot of the chief. It was common for a chief to use his wife's sexual propensities as a means for attracting valuable warriors or retainers into his household, and holding them with him. The institution of polyandry was not a result of the numerical inferiority of women as has been claimed, however (see Linton, Handy, p. 101), as the census records discussed above clearly show that such a preponderance of males never occurred in the time for which records are available.

According to Gracia, polygyny was rare, even among chiefly families. This reliable source states that he saw only one individual with two wives; a paramount chief of the island of Ua Pou who held a position of such high prestige that he was deified soon after his death.

Despite the presence of the secondary mate institution, it is interesting to note that the state of monogamy is /112/ depicted most frequently in legends (Handy).

Extramarital relations of a casual sort appear to have been as much a feature of aboriginal culture as they are in modern times. Legends contain numerous references to such relations, and statements of informants indicate that the modern situation is quite representative of the former state of the culture, at least as far back as the last decade of the nineteenth century.

Beating of unfaithful wives as practiced today was also known in aboriginal times, often being carried to the point of death of the miscreant (Handy 1923, p. 100). Another form of expression of sexual jealousy -- suicide -- which was often used by women in the past, is no longer found in Marquesan culture. This is probably due to the strong negative sanctions applied by the Catholic church against this action.

Summary

In the preceding discussion comparisons have been made between modern Marquesan sexual behavior and the sexual behavior as reported by historical sources and ethnographers, in an attempt to reconstruct aboriginal practices and trace the dynamics of this behavior over the

/116 cont./
social structure, the norms continue to exist as they fulfill a vital function for the society -- that of resistance against an overwhelming foe. They offer one of the few opportunities left to this remnant of a society to express in a reasonably effective form the accumulated hatred of 120 years of misery.

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Conclusions

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The above data possess considerable implications for anthropology and other related disciplines, as well as for students of Polynesia. /117/ First, the study has served to alter and revise the perspective with which Marquesan sexual behavior has been viewed for 20 years.

The quantity of the data and the detail in which it was recorded provide a good foundation for an evaluation of previous ethnographic reports and historical sources, and throw considerable light on aboriginal sexual behavior. Throughout the actual collection of the data and the subsequent comparative studies, it was apparent that Linton's widely quoted report on Marquesan sexual behavior was often considerably at variance with historical data, reports of other ethnographers and the data of the present study. Certain statements in Linton's report which could be checked with actual records (i.e., population, death/birth and male/female ratios) were completely unsubstantiated. It should be noted that Linton's article contains no bibliographic references for the objective data which he purports to include -- thus making an evaluation even more difficult. Other statements, which were not quantitative but still could be checked against other sources (i.e., nursing of children, child feeding, economic role of women, etc.), appeared to be equally groundless. Finally, in the admittedly more subjective areas of interpretation, the conclusions reached by Linton about the status and role of women in Marquesan society are so much at variance with the basic data, and depend so much on the unsubstantiated claims discussed previously that there is little reason to regard them as valid any longer.

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The discrepancies encountered in comparing the Linton report with other sources on Marquesan culture are also encountered when going /118/ further afield; comparing the Linton report with data available from elsewhere in Polynesia (Mead, Metraux, Ferdon). If Linton's views were to be accepted, the Marquesan culture would be completely atypical for the rest of Polynesia. The present data show, however, that there is a considerable area of similarity between the sexual behavior of the Samoans and that of the Marquesans despite the considerable distance, both geographical and chronological, which separates these two cultures. In Easter Island, relatively closer in space and time to the Marquesan culture, similarities in sexual behavior are also apparent, despite the heavy acculturation that occurred on that island in the past century.

While casting considerable doubt on the validity of many of Linton's statements and conclusions, the present study demonstrated rather clearly the superior quality of E. S. C. Handy's ethnography (1923), corroborating the statements and conclusions of this author time and again. Unfortunately, it is Linton's version of Marquesan culture which has been most widely used among non-Polynesianists. In view of the fact that it was prepared for and published in Kardiner's volume on personality and culture, it is little wonder that it has become current in the writings of that particular area of the behavioral sciences.

In addition to demonstrating the distortions implicit in Linton's view of Marquesan sexual behavior in particular and culture in general, the present study presents an interesting case of the dynamics of culture change. In Marquesan society, so severely shattered by the French /119/ colonization, native social organization is almost a meaningless form: the obliteration of countless statuses and roles, the tremendous conflicts engendered between aboriginal and introduced roles have all acted to break down the social structure to an absolutely minimal residue of its former self. In many other areas of the culture (art, technology, music, etc.) most of the culture content has vanished without a trace, yet in the area of